A REPORT

and Diſcourſe written by Roger Aſcham, of the affaires and ſtate of Germany and the Emperour Charles his court, duryng certaine yeares while the ſayd Roger was there.

AT LONDON.

¶ Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Alderſgate.

¶ *Cum Gratia & Priuilegio Regiæ Maieſtatis, per Decennium.*

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John Astely to R. Ascham.



Now finde true by experience, which I haue oft heard of others, & sometymes read my selfe: that mē make no such accompt of commodities when they haue thē, as when they want thē. I meane this by our frendly fellowshyp together at *Cheston Chelsey*, and here at *Hatfield* her graces house: our pleasant studies in readyng together *Aristotles* Rethorike, *Cicero*, and *Liuie*: our free talke mingled alwayes with honest mirth: our trimme cōferences of that present world: and to true iudgementes of the troublesome tyme that followed.

These commodities I now remēber with some grief, which we then vsed with much pleasure, besides many other fruites of frendshyp that faythfull good will could affourd. And these thinckynges cause me oft to wish, either you to be here with vs, or me to be there with you: but what wishyng is nothyng els but a vayne waylyng for that which will wanteth, I wil cease from wishyng, and seeke the true remedy for this sore. And that is whilest we mete agayne in deede, in the meane while to ease our desires with oft writyng the one to the other: I would in deede I had bene partaker in your company, of that your pleasaunt absence out of your

countrey: And becauſe I was not, I pray you let me be partaker by your letters of ſome fruite of that your iourney.

We heare of great ſturres in thoſe parties: and how the Emperour a Prince of great wiſedome and great power hath bene driuen to extreme ſhiftes, and that by the pollicie of mean men who were thought to be hys frendes, and not by the puiſantnes of others who were knowne to be his open enemyes. I know you were wont in markyng diligently and notyng truely all ſuch great affaires: And you know lykewiſe how deſirous I am alwayes to read any thing that you write. Write therfore I pray you, that we your frendes beyng at home may enioye by your letters a pleaſant memory of you in this tyme whileſt you be abſent abroad. Farewell in Chriſt from Hatfield. xix. Octobris. 1552.



Salutem Plurimam in Christo Iesu. That part of your letters from Hatfield, *decimo nono Octob.* renewing a most pleasaunt memory of our fredly fellowship together, & full of your wonted good will towardes me: I aunswered immediatly from Spires by Fraunces the post: whiche letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might haue heard tell of it in M. Secretary Cicels chamber in the Court.

As concernyng the other part of your letter, for your wish, to haue bene with me, in this mine absence from my countrey: and for your request, to be made partaker by my letters of the sturre of these times here in Germany. Surely I would you had your wish: for then should not I now nede to bungle vp yours so great a request, when presently you should haue sene with much pleasure, which now peraduēture you shall read with some doubt, lesse thynges may encrease by writyng which were so great in doyng, as I am more afrayd to leaue behind me much of the matter, then to gather vp more then hath sprong of the trouth.

Your request conteineth few wordes but cōprehendeth both great and diuers matters. As first the causes of the open inuasion by the Turke: of the secret workyng for such soddeyne brechesse

in Italy, and Germany: of the fine fetches in the French practises: of the double dealyng of Rome with all partes: thē more particularly why Duke Octauio, the Prince of Salerne, Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice brake so out with the Emperour, which were all so fast knit vnto hym as the bondes of affinitie, loyaltie, bloud, and benefites could assure him of them: Octauio being his sonne in law, the Prince one of hys priuy chamber, Marches Albert hys kynsman, and Duke Maurice so inhaunsed with honor and enriched with benefites by hym, as the Duke could not haue wished greater in hope, then the Emperour performed in deede. Here is stuffe plenty to furnish well vp a trimme history if a workeman had it in handlyng. When you and I read Liuie together if you do remember, after some reasonyng we concluded both what was in our opinion to be looked for at his hand that would well and aduisedly write an history: First, point was, to write nothyng false: next, to be bold to say any truth, wher by is auoyded two great faultes, flattery and hatred: for which two pointes Cæsar is read to his great prayse, and Iouius the Italian to hys iust reproch. Then to marke diligently the causes, counsels, actes, and issues in all great attemptes: And in causes, what is iust or vniust: in counsels, what is purposed wisely or rashly: in actes, what is done couragiously or fayntly: And of euery issue, to note some generall lesson of wisedome & warines, for lyke matters in time to come: wherin Polibius in Greeke and Phillip Comines in French

C. Cæsar.
P. Iouius.
Polibius.
Phi. Comines.

haue

haue done the duties of wyse and worthy writers. Diligence also must be vsed in kepyng truly the order of tyme: and describyng lyuely, both the site of places and nature of persons not onely for the outward shape of the body: but also for the inward dispositiō of the mynde as Thucidides doth in many places very trimly, and Homer euery where and that alwayes most excellently, which obseruation is chiefly to be marked in hym. And our Chaucer doth the same, very praise worthely: marke hym well and conferre hym with any other that writeth of in our tyme in their proudest toung whosoeuer lyst. The stile must be alwayes playne and open: yet sometime higher and lower as matters do ryse and fall: for if proper and naturall wordes, in well ioyned sentences do lyuely expresse the matter, be it troublesome, quyet, angry or pleasant, A man shal thincke not to be readyng but present in doyng of the same. And herein Liuie of all other in any toung, by myne opinio carieth away the prayse.

Thucidides. Homer. Chaucer. Titus Liuius.

Syr Thomas More in that pamphlet of Richard the thyrd, doth in most part I beleue of all these pointes so content all men, as if the rest of our story of England were so done, we might well compare with France, Italy, or Germany or in that behalfe. But see how the pleasant remembraunce of our old talke together hath caried me farther then I thought to go. And as for your request to know the cause and maner of these late sturres here ye shall not looke for such precise order now in writyng, as we talked on then. No it

Tho. Morus.

is not all one thing to know perfectly by reading and to perfoꝛme perfectly in doyng I am not so vnaduised to take so much vpō me, noꝛ you so vnfrendly to looke foꝛ so much from me. But that you may know that I haue not bene altogether idle in this my absence, and that I will not come home as one that can say nothing of that he hath sene and heard abꝛoad: I will homely and rudely (yet not altogether disoꝛderly) part pꝛiuately vnto you such notes of affaires as I pꝛiuately marked foꝛ my selfe: which I either felt and saw, oꝛ learned in such place and of such persōs as had willes to seeke foꝛ, and wayes to come by, and wittes to way the greatest matters that were to be marked in all these affaires. Foꝛ no wieke almost hath past in the which there hath not commonly come to my hand foꝛ the most part of the notable thynges that haue bene attempted in Turky, Hungary, Italy, Fraunce, and Germany. In declaryng to you these thyngs I will obserue onely the first two pointes of our wont communication: that is to my wꝛityng I will set foꝛward nothyng that is false, noꝛ yet keepe backe any thyng that is true. Foꝛ I playing no part of no one side, but sittyng downe as indifferent looker on, neither Imperiall noꝛ Frech, but flat English do purpose (wich) truth to repoꝛt the matter. And seyng I shall liue vnder such a Pꝛince, as kyng Edward is, and in such a countrey as England is (I thanke God) I shall haue neither neede to flatter the one side foꝛ pꝛofite, noꝛ cause to feare the other side foꝛ displeasure. Therefoꝛe let my

pur-

purpose of reportyng the troth as much content you, as the meane handlyng of the matter may mislike you. Yet speakyng thus much of trouth, I meane not such a hid trouth as was onely in the brest of Monsieur d'Arras on the Emperours side, or in Baron Hadeck on Duke Maurice side, with whom and with on other of his counsell he onely conferred all his purposes three yeares before he brake out with ỳ Emperour: but I meane such a troth as by conference and common cõsent amongest all the Ambassadors and Agentes in this Court and other witty & indifferent heades beside was generally conferred and agreed vpõ. What better cõmoditie to know the trouth any writer in Greeke Latine or other toung hath had, I can not perceiue, except onely Xenophon, Cæsar, and Phillip Comines: which two first worthy writers wrote their owne actes so wisely, and so without all suspicion of parcialitie, as no mã hetherto by mine opinion hath borne him selfe so vp rightly in writyng the histories of others: The thyrd hauyng in a maner ỳ like opportunitie hath not deserued lyke commendations, at least as I suppose. Englãd hath matter & Englãd hath mẽ furnished with all abilitie to write: who if they would might bryng both lyke prayse vnto them selues, & like profite to others, as these two noble mẽ haue done. They lay for their excuse the lacke of leysure which is true in deede: But if we cõsider the great affaires of Cæsar we may iudge hee was worthy to winne all praise that was so willing & wittie to winne such time when his head &

his handes night and day were euer most full, would to God that these our mē as they are ready to prayse hym were euen as willyng to follow hym, and so to wynne like prayse them selues.

And to keepe you no longer with my priuate talke from the matter it selfe, I will begyn at the spryng of the matter from whence all these mischiefes dyd flow, the which now hath so ouerflowed the most part of Christendome, as God onely from heauen must make an end of this miserable tragedie, wherein these two great Princes take such pleasure still to play. In Religion & libertie were sayd to be of many men the very causes of all these sturres: yet in myne opinion & as the matter it selfe shall well proue it, vnkyndnes was the very sede, whereof all these troubles dyd grow. A knight of England of worthy memorie for wit learnyng and experience old Syr Thomas Wiat wrote to his sonne that the greatest mischief amongest men and least punished is vnkyndnes: the greatest mischief truly & least punished also by any ordinary law & sentence, yet as I haue sene here by experience, vnkyndnes hath so wrought with men, as the meane were not afrayd to attempt their reuēge, nor the Emperour able to withstand their displease. Yea vnkyndnes was onely the hoke, which Henry the French kyng hath vsed these late yeares to plucke from the Emperour and draw to hym selfe, so many Princes and great cōmodities as he hath: with this hoke bayted with money the bayte of all mischief, the French kyng hath not ceased, to angle at

The cause of ỹ sturres in Italy & Germany.

Vnkyndnes.

as

as many harts in Italy and Germany as he knew any matter of vnkyndnes to bee ministred vnto, by the Emperour. There be few Princes in all the Empire but if I had leysure, I could particularly proue, and when I come home in our priuate talke I wil fully declare that some good big matter of vnkindnes hath bene offred vnto them by the Emperour. Yea Ferdinando his brother, Maximilian his nephew and soune in law, the Dukes of Bauarie and Cleues which haue maried his nieces haue bene shrewdly touched therwith. Also ỳ Papisticall Byshops as Mentz, Pamburge, Herbipolis, Saltzburge, and diuers others haue felt their part herein. Few Princes or states, Protestantes or Papistes, but haue bene troubled therwith. But euen as a quaterne in the begynnyng is a wanderyng disease in the body vnknowne what it wil turne vnto, and yet at last it draweth to certaine dayes & houres: euen so these grieues in the whole body of the Empire dyd first worke secretly and not appeare openly, vntill this melancholy vnkyndnes did so swell in mens stomaches that at length in Insburgh it brast out into a shrewdsickncs, whereof the first fit was felt to be so daũgerous, that if the Emperour and we had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am afrayed and sure I am we were wel affrayd then, the sickenes would haue proued also to vs that were present with hym very contagious. Well this grief growyng this to certaine fittes, and I my selfe beyng not greatly greued at ỳ hart with it but had leysure enough with small ieoperdy(I

thanke God) to looke quietly vpon them that were sicke, because I would not be idle amongst them I began dayly to note the worcking of this sickenes, and namely from the xix. of May. 1552. when we ranne from Insburgh till the first of next January whē the siege of Metz was abādoned. Neuertheles before I come to these ordinary dayes I will shortly touch how the Emperour beyng in peace with all the world. 1550. when we came to his Court, had soone after so many enemyes as hee knew not which way to turne hym.

¶ The Turke.

The brech with the Turke,

THe date of peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turke had to expire an. 1551. The Emperour hearyng what preparation the Turke had made the yeare before for warre and specially by Sea, which must needes be agaynst Christendome, thought it better for hym to ende the peace with some aduauntage, thē that the Turke should begyn the warre with too much strength & therfore in sommer. 1550. he sent Iohn de Vega Uiceroy of Cicile & Andrea Dorea into Barbaria, who wan the strong towne of Affrica from Dragut Raies sometyme a Pirate and now the Turkes chief doer in all the affaires of Affrike and *mare mediteraneo*. This Court raised vp other rumors of this brech with the Turke how that this enterprice was made for Seripho sake a hethen kyng. But the Emperours frend in Barbaria to whom Dragat Rayes had done great wrong, yet men

that

that knew the troth, and are wont also to say it, haue told me that the towne of Affrica stode so fit to annoy Spayne for the Turke when he list, that the Emperour was compelled to seeke by all meaner to obtaine it, much fearyng, lest when he was absent in Germany, the Turke would be too nigh and to homely a gest with hym in Spayne whensoeuer the peace should be expired. The whole story of winnyng Affrica ye may read whē you list beyng wel written in Latin by a Spaniard that was present at it.

Affrica was earnestly required agayne by the Turke, and fayre promised agayne by the Emperour, but beyng in deede not deliuered, the Turke for a reuenge the next yeare, first assaulted Malta and after wan Tripoly from whence the Turke may easely and soddenly whensoeuer hee list set vpon Cicelie, Naples, or any cost of Italie or Spayne and most commodiously, what soeuer the Emperour doth hold in Barbary: so that the gayne of Affrica is thought nothyng comparable with the losse of Tripoly.

When Tripoly was besieged by the Turkes, Monsieur Daramont was sent Ambassadour to Constantinople from the French kyng: and ariuyng by the way at Malta, hee was desired by the great master of the order to go to Tripoly, and for the frendshyp that was betwene Fraunce and the Turke to treat for the Christians there. Daramont did so and had leaue of the Turkes generall to enter the towne and talke with the Captaine. And by this meanes they within yelded, on this con-

dition to part safe with bag and baggage which was graunted by the generall. But assoone as the Turkes entred the towne they put old & yong, man, woman, and child to the sword sauing two hundred of the strongest men to be their Galley slaues for euer. The generall beyng asked why he kept no promise made this aunswere: If the Emperour had kept faith with my master for Affrica I would not haue broken with them of Tripoly, and therfore (sayth he) with Christen men which care for no trothe promises may iustly be broken. This Turkish crueltie was reuenged this last yeare in Hungary, when lyke promise of lyfe was made, and yet all put to the sword the Christians biddyng the Turkes remember Tripoly. To such beastly crueltie the noble feates of armes be come vnto betwixt the Christen men and the Turkes. And one fact of either side is notable to bee knowen, yet horrible to be told and fouler to be followed: and it is pitie that mãs nature is such, as will commonlie commend good thynges in readyng and yet will as commonly follow ill thynges in doyng.

An horrible fact.

The Bassa of Buda, tooke in a skirmish a gẽtleman of the kyng of Romanes: for whose deliuery men for entreaty and money for hys raunsome were sent to Buda. The Bassa appointed a day to geue them aunswere, and at time and place assigned, called for them and sent for the gentleman likewise. And soddenly came out two hangmen bare armed with great butchers kniues in theyr handes bringing with them certaine bandogges

muſled kept hungry without meate of purpoſe: the Baſſa bad them do their feate: who commyng to the gentleman ſtripped him naked, and bound him to a piller, after with their kniues they cut of his fleſh by gobbets and flang it to the dogges. Thus ẏ poore gentlemã ſuffred grief great for ẏ payne, but greater for the ſpight: nor ſo tormẽted in feelyng his fleſhe mangled with kniues, as in ſeyng him ſelfe peece meale deuoured by dogges. And thus as long as hee felt any payne they cut him in collops, and after they let their dogges loſe vpon him to eate vp the reſidue of him, that ẏ griefe which was ended in him being dead might yet continue in his frendes lookyng on. They were bad depart and tell what they ſaw, who ye may be ſure were in care enough to cary home with them ſuch a cruell meſſage.

Not long after this, three Turkes of good eſtimation and place, were taken by the Chriſten men: for whoſe raunſome great ſummes of gold were offred. Aunſwere was made to the meſſenger that all the gold in Turky ſhould not ſaue thẽ. And becauſe ye Turkes will eate no ſwines fleſh, you ſhall ſee if ſwine will eate any Turkiſh fleſhe. And ſo likewiſe great bores were kept hungry, & in ſight of the meſſenger the three Turkes were cut in collops and throwne amongeſt them.

For theſe foule deedes I am not ſo angry with the Turkes that began them as I am ſory for the Chriſten men that follow them. I talked with a worthy gentleman this day both for his great experience and excellent learnyng Marc Anthonio

The great Turke.

d'Anula Ambassadour of Venice with the Emperour: who told me that the great Turke him selfe (Religion excepted) is a good and mercyfull, iust and liberall Prince, wise in makyng and true in performyng any couenant, and as sore a reuenger of troth not kept. He prayed God to kepe him long aliue: for his eldest sonne Mustapha is cleane contrary, geuẽ to all mischief cruell, false, gettyng he careth not how vniustly, and spendyng he careth not how vnthryftely what soeuer he may lay hand on, wilye in makyng for his purpose, & ready to breake for his profite all couenantes, he is wery of quietnes and peace, a seeker of strife and warre, a great mocker of meane men, a sore oppressor of poore men, openly contemnyng God, and a bent enemy agaynst Christes name and Christen men. But to go forward with my purpose. The Turke beyng onest disclosed an open enemy to the Emperour, many meane men begã to be the bolder to put out their heades to seeke some open remedy for theyr priuate iniuries: Fraunce beyng at euery mans elbow to harten and to helpe, whosoeuer had cause to be aggreued with the Emperour. And first Octauio Duke of Parma, much agreued as nature well required with his fathers death, & besides that fearing the losse not onely of his state, but also of his lyfe, fell from the Emperour in the end of the yeare. 1550.

Mustapha the Turkes eldest sonne

Brech of Italie.

Octauio.

Pietro Aloysio Farnesio sonne to Papa Paulo tercio Duke of Placẽtia: father to this Duke Octauio Duke of Parma which maried the Emperors base daughter, and to Horatio Duke of Castro,

who

who of late hath maried also the French kynges base daughter, and the two Cardinals Alexandro and Ramusio Farnesy, was slaine men say by the meanes of Ferranto Gonzaga gouernour of Millan by whose death the state of Placentia belõging then to the house of Fernesia came into the Emperour handes. The whole processe of this mans death is at length set out in the stories of Italie: my purpose is onely to touch it, because hereby rose such a heate betwixt the whole famely of Fernesia and Don Ferranto Gonzaga as hath stirred vp such a smoke in Italy betwixt the Emperour and Fraunce. as is not like to be quenched but with many a poore mans bloud, as Horace noteth wittely out of Homer, saying:

What follies so euer great Princes make:
The people therfore go to wrake.

Octauio beyng soreste greeued with his fathers death and beyng best able to reuenge it was so feared of Gonzaga that he thought hym selfe neuer assured for Petro Luis death as long as Octauio his sonne should lyue: for men neuer loue whẽ they haue iust cause to feare, but must nedes still mistrust without all hope of reconcilyng whom they haue before hurt beyõd all remedy of amendes. And yet I heard a gentlemã of Millan say (who was sent hether to the Emperour by Gonzaga) that Octauio is such a Prince for good nature and gentle behauiour that he supposed there was not one in Italy but did loue hym except it were his maister Gonzaga. These two

Princes beyng neighbours the one at Millan the other at Parma shewed smal frendshyp the one to the other. But Octauio was euermore wrong to the worse by many and sundry spites, but chiefly with dayly feare of hys life by poysoning: for the which fact certain persons in Parma were taken and layd fast. Neuertheles Octauios nature is so farre from seekyng bloud and reuenge and so geuen to pitie and gentlenes, that although they went about not onely to geue away his state by treason, but also to take away his life by poysonyng, yea, and after that the deede was proued playnly on them, and sentence of death pronounced openly agaynst them, yet he gaue them lyfe and libertie which would haue taken both from hym.

And when Monsieur Thermes earnestly told him that where the euill were not kept in with feare of Justice, the good should neuer lyue in suretie and quietnes: his aunswere was that he so abhorred the sheddyng of bloud in others as he would neuer wash his handes in any: let his enemies do to him the worst they could. Addyng, that he thought it his most honor to be vnlykest such for his gentlenes which were misliked of all mē for their crueltie: wherby he hath wonne that he which of good nature can hurt none, is now of right loued of all and onely hated of him whō no man in Italy for his cruelty doth loue. And this talke is so true that it was told in an other language but in the selfe same termes at an honorable table here in Bruxels by a gentleman

of

of Millan an agent in the Court, a doer for Gonzaga, who the same tyme was prisoner in Parma.

And although Octauio by good nature was harmeles in not seekyng reuenge, yet he was not careles by good reason in seekyng hys remedy but made oft & great cõplaintes of his grieues to the Emperour, which were not so hotely made, but they were as coldly heard, that at lẽgth Octauio findyng least comfort, where of right he looked for most ayde, & seyng that displeasures could not be ended in Gonzaga nor could not be amended by the Emperour: then he compelled agaynst his nature turned his hate due to Gonzaga to reuenge this vndeserued vnkyndnes in the Emperour, euen as Pausanias dyd with Phillip kyng of Macedonie, who conquerying with pollicie and power all outward enemyes, was slayne when and where, he thought him selfe most sure of his deareſt frẽd, for vnkindnes, because Phillip ought and would not reuẽge Pausanias on him that had done him a foule displeasure.

Octauio seyng what was done to his father euen when hys graundfather was Byshop of Rome, thought, that now as his house decayed, so his iopardy encreased. And therfore agaynst a desperate euill began to seeke for a desperate remedie, which was fet from Rome a shop alwayes open to any mischief as you shall perceiue in these few leaues if you marke them well.

Octauio cõplained to Iulio tercio of the wrõges of Gonzaga & of the vnkindnes of the Emperour, desiryng that by his wisedome and authoritie, he

would now succor him or els not onely he should leese his life but also the Church of Rome should lose her right in Parma, as she had done before in Placentia. The Byshop gaue good eare to this talke, for hé spied that hereby should be offred vnto him, a fit occasion to set the Emperour and Fraunce together by the eares. He thought the Emperour was to bigge in Italy hauyng on ỹ one side of Rome Naples vnder his obedience, on the other side Siena, Florence and Genoa at his commaundement, besides Placentia, Millan, Monteferrato, and a great part of Piemount.

The Emperour beyng thus strong in Italy, the Byshop thought his own state to be his so lõg as it pleased the Emperour to let him haue it: & therfore if Parma were not left an entry for Fraunce to come into Italy, he might ouersoone be shut vp in present miserie when all outward ayde should be shut out from him.

The Popes counsel was that Octauio should put him selfe vnder the French kynges protection whom hee knew would most willingly receiue him: Parma lying so fit for the French kyng, when soeuer he would set vpon the enterprice of Millan. This practise of the Pope Monsieur de Thermes the French kynges Ambassadours dyd vtter before the consistorie of Cardinals at Rome: prouing that the Pope, not the kyng his master was the occasion of that warre.

When Octauio with the whole house of Farnesia became thus Frẽch, the Emperour more fearyng the state of Millan then lamentyng the losse

of

of Octauio perſuaded on his ſide the Byſhop of Rome to require Parma as the Churches right, & to puniſh Octauio as the Churches rebell, promiſing that he him ſelfe as an obedient ſonne of the Church would ſtretch out his arme and open his purſe in that recouery of the Churches right: neuertheles the Byſhop muſt beare the name of the warre becauſe hee might not breake peace with Fraunce. Thus Princes openly cõtenãcing quietnes & priuily brewyng debate although they got others to broch it, yet God commõly ſuffreth thẽ ſelues to drinke moſt of the miſery thereof in the end. The Byſhop ſeyng that he muſt either begyn the miſchief or els it would not on ſo faſt as he wiſhed to haue it, ſet luſtely vpon it: and firſt cited Octauio, after excommunicated him, and ſhortly after beſieged Parma ayded both with mẽ and money by the Emperour: which thyng the French kyng began to ſtomach, thinckyng that ỳ Emperour dyd offer him both wrong & diſhonor in not ſuffring him beyng a kyng to helpe a poore man that fled to his ayde. And thus theſe two Princes firſt helpyng others began by litle and litle to fall out them ſelues. And that the Pope dyd ſet theſe two Princes together, a Paſquill made at Rome and ſent to this Court doth well declare. And ſeyng that you ſo well vnderſtand the Italian toung and that if it were turned into Engliſh it would leeſe the whole grace therof, I will recite it in the toung that it was made in.

Breach to Fraunce.

Interlocutori Pasquillo et Romano.

Pasq. *HAnno vn bel gioco il Re, et l'Imperatore per terzo el Papá, e giocano à Primera.*
Rom. *che v' e d' in vito?* Pasq. *Italia tutta intera.*
Rom. *Chi vi l' ha messa?* Pasq. *il coglion del pastore.*
Rom. *Che tien in mano il Re?* Pasq. *Ponto magiere el Papa hacinquant' vno, e se despera.*
Rom. *Cæsar che Ponto sa?* Pasq. *lui sta a Primera*
Rom. *che gli manca?* Pasq. *danari a far sauore*
Il Papa dice à voi, e voll Partito:
Cæsar Pensoso sta Sopra di questo,
teme à Scropir di trouar moneta
Il Re dico, no, no, Scoprite Presto,
che io tengo Ponto, a guadagnar l' in vito
I' ho li danari, et Cæsar se gli aspeta.

¶ Tutti stanno a vedetta.
Chi di lor dui guadagni. Rom. *il Papa?* Pas. *e fuora vinca chi vol, lui Perda, in sua mal hora.*

¶ Le Imperatore anchora.
Teme, étien stretto, è Scopre Piau le carte,
e qui, la sorte gioca, pin che l' Arte.

¶ Metra questi indisparte.
Stabilito e nel Ciel quelle, che esserdé,
ne giona al nostro dir, questo Sara questo è.

The French king in the sommer. 1551. proclaimed warre against Charles kyng of Spayne, abusing that name for a sottlety to separate ȳ whole quarell from the Empire: when the Emperour would

would not be perſuaded at Auguſta that either the Turke would, or the French kyng durſt make him open warre, or that any Prince in Italy or Germany could be entiſed to breake out with him.

Monſieur Mariliacke the French Ambaſſadour at Auguſta euer bare the Emperour in hand that ſuch rumors of war were rayſed of diſpleaſure & that his maſter intended nothyng ſo much as the continuance of amitie, yea this he durſt do, when many in ỹ Emperours court knew that the war was already proclaimed in Fraunce.

The Emperour blinded with the ouer good opinion of his own wiſedome, likyng onely what him ſelfe liſted, and contemnyng eaſely all aduiſe of others (which ſelfe will condition doth commonly follow, and as commonly doth hurt all great wittes) dyd not onely at this tyme ſuffer him ſelfe thus to be abuſed: but alſo afterward more craftely by the Pope for the continuaunce of warre at Parma, & more boldly by Duke Maurice for his repayre to Inſpruke, and not the leaſt of all, now lately at Metz by ſome of his owne counſellours for the recouery of that towne.

But Princes and great perſonages whiche will heare but what and whom they liſt, at the length fayle when they would not, and commonly blame whom they ſhould not: But it is well done that as great men may by authoritie contemne the good aduiſe of others: ſo God doth prouide by right iudgement that they haue leaue in the ende to beare both the loſſe and ſhame therof them ſelues.

Thus ye see how the Pope was both the brewer and brocher and also bringer of ill lucke to both these Princes, and as it came wel to passe dranke well of it him selfe both with expences of great treasures, and with the losse of many lyues and specially of two noble gentlemen, the Prince of Macedonia & Il Scign. Gionan Baptista di Monte his owne nephew: but the Popes care was neither of money nor men, so that he might set the two Princes surely together. And therfore was not onely content (as a man might say) to hasard Parma on the meyne chaūce: but to make the two Princes better sporte & fresher game, set also euē then Mirandula on a bye chaunce that mischiefe enough might come together.

Pope. When the Princes were well in and the one so lusty with good lucke that hee had no lust to leaue, and the other so chafed with leesyng, that still he would venture. Besides their playing in Parma. sporte for the Pope at Parma and Mirandula, they Mirādula. fell to it a good them selues in Piemoūt, Loraigne, Flaunders and Picardy, the French kyng robbyng by Sea and spoyling by land, with calling in the Turke, and sturryng vp all Princes and states that had any occasion to beare any grudge to the Emperour. Of all their neighbours onely our noble kyng, and the wise senate of Venize would be lookers on.

And when the Pope saw they were so hote at it as he well knew as the one would not start in so great good lucke: so ẏ other could not leaue by so much shame of losse. And although it did

him

him good to see them cope so lustely together: neuertheles he thought it scarce his surety that they should play so nere his elbow so earnestly, least if they fell to farre out and the one should winne to much of the other, then he peraduenture would compell at length the Pope him selfe which begā the play to kepe him sport afterward for that that he had in Italy. And therfore very craftely he gat them to play in an other place, and tooke vp the game for Parma and Mirandula taking truce with Fraunce for certaine yeares, and bad them make what sport they would farther of in Loraigne & Picardy. And that there should lacke neither iniurie nor spite in the Popes doynges, whē the Emperour saw that whether hee would or no, the Pope would needes fall in with Fraunce, then he desired the Pope that such bastilians and fortes offence as were made about Mirandula when it was besieged might either be deliuered to hys mens handes or els defaced that the Frenchmen might not haue them, which request was very reasonable seyng the Emperour had bene at all the charge in makyng of them: But they were neither deliuered nor defaced, nor left indifferēt, but so put into the French mens handes, that Mirandula now is made very strong to the French faction by Emperours money and the Popes falsehode. The Popes practice.

This fact was very wrongfull of the Pope for the deede: but more spitefull for the tyme: for euen when Duke Maurice had wonne Augusta, euen then the Pope gaue vp the siege of Mirandula

dula and fell in with Fraunce that care enough might come vppon the Emperour together both out of Germany, and out of Italy at once. And euē this day. 25. June. 1553. when I was writyng this place, commeth newes to Bruxells, that the Pope hath of new played with the Emperour more foule play at Siena, then he dyd before at Mirandula: For whē the Emperour had bene at passing charges in keppng a great host, for the recouery of Siena from December last vnto June: the Pope would needes become stickler in that matter betwene the Emperour, the French kyng and Siena promising such conditions to all, as neither of the Princes should lose honour and yet Siena should haue had liberties. The Emperour good man yet agayne trustyng him who so spightfully had deceaued hym before dismissed hys hoste, which done Siena was left still in the French mēs hādes: who therby haue such oportunitie to fortifie it, as ẏ Emperor is not like by force to recouer it Piramus Secretary to ẏ Emperor told this tale to Syr Phillip Hobby & the Byshop of Westminster openly at ẏ table: which Piramus is a Papist for his life: & beyng asked how he could excuse the Popes vnkyndnes agaynst his master ẏ Emperour': Hee aunswered smilyng Iulius tercius is a knaue but ẏ Pope is an honest mā, which saying is cōmō in this court. And although they wil vnderstād both ẏ spight of ẏ pope, & ẏ shame of their master, yet are they cōtent stil to speake of ẏ pope though he neuertheles still do ill to ẏ Emperour.

And thus to returne to my purpose how the Pope set the two Princes together, & shift his owne necke a while out of

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the halter, leauyng moſt vnfrendly the Emperour when he was farthest behynd hand: and how Octauio for feare of Gonzaga, and vnkyndnes of the Emperour fell with all hys famely to be French, I haue briefly passed ouer for the hast I haue to come to the matters of Germany.

¶ *The Prince of Salerne.*

The Emperour beyng thus set vpon by the Turke and Fraunce with open warre, and troubled by the house of Fernesia with so soddeyne breaches, and most of all encombred with the feare of the sturres in Germany which secretly were then in worckyng: the Prince of Salerne also declared hym selfe an open enemy.

This Prince in this court is much beloued for his gētlenes and openly prayſed for his wiſedome, & greatly lamented for his fortune, who before tyme hath done so good and faythfull ſeruice to the Emperour: that I haue heard ſome in this Court ſay, which loue the Emperour well and ſerue him in good place, that their maſter hath done the Prince ſo much wrong, as he could do no leſſe then he dyd: who being ſo vniuſtly hādled by his enemies, the Uiceroy of Naples, and ſo vnkyndly dealt with all by hys maſter ỳ Emperour, was driuen by neceſſitie to ſēke an vnlawfull ſhift.

The Uiceroy Don Pietro de Toledo vncle to ỳ Duke of Alua, & father in law to ỳ duke of Floréce vſed him ſelfe with much cruelty ouer ỳ people of Naples by exactions of money without meaſure, by Inquiſition of mens doyngs without order, & not onely of mens doynges, but alſo of mēs outward lookyngs, & inward thinkynges, vſing the leaſt ſuſpicion for a ſufficiēt witnes to ſpoyle & to kill whō ſoeuer he lyſted. Mē that had ſutes vnto him, had as leue bene away with the loſſe of their right, as haue come to his preſence to abyde his lokes & taūts: And (as I heard a wiſe gētlemā of Italy ſay) he gaue audiēce in ſuch tyme & place, as

he may easlyer in this Court speake with Monsieur d'Arras then he could in Naples with the Uiceroyes Porter. And commōly he would not heare them whilest an hundred suters should come at once, and then the Porter let them in by one and by one euen as he fauoured not as the matter required, commaūdyng them to be short or els they should come short in the next tyme. And so mens sutes were pulled frō cōmon law to priuate will, & were heard not in place open to Justice but in priuate Parlors shit vp to all that came not in by fauour or money. And therfore indgements were allotted not as law appointed, but as the Uiceroy listed. This fault (Cicero sayth) vndyd Cæsar who drew the commō law into his own house, & so in hauing other mēs goods lost all mēs hartes and not long after his owne lyfe: for euen those that dyd helpe him plucke down Pompey, dyd after kill him for pulling downe the lawes: So we see that Princes not in gatheryng much money, nor in bearing ouer great swinge but in keping of frendes & good lawes lyue most merely & raigne most surely. But such as gape alwayes for other mens goods cōmōly neuer enioy ẏ fruite of their owne: for they neuer cease to win by wrōg till at length they lese by right goodes lyfe & all. And therfore it is notable ẏ Dion. in Plato writeth to Dionisius ẏ tyraūt, how Euripides in euery tragedy bringeth for some great vice one or other great Prince to ruine & yet not one doth cōplaine thus:

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of goodes.

But euery one singeth this song:

Out

Out out alas alas, I dye for lacke of frendes.

For a Prince that will take mẽs goods when he listeth without order shall want mens hartes whẽ he needeth wout pitie: but in hauyng their hartes he shall neuer lacke their goodes, as the good kyng Cirus sayd to the rich kyng Cræsus. And to haue the peoples hartes the next way is to be gentle to euery one, iust to all and liberall to many and especially to such as either by excellency of wit or good will in true seruice do well deserue it. Also to set his chiefest ioy not in priuate pleasure like Sardanapalus, but in commõ wealth as we haue example of Titus Vespasianus: and to thinke his treasure greatest, not when his coffers be fullest as Cræsus dyd, but when his subiectes be richest as Cyrus dyd & that through hys wisedome and care as all prayse worthy princes haue euer hetherto done. And what will the people rẽder agayn to such a Prince? A small subsidy, with a great grudge? no, but their whole hartes to loue him: their whole goodes to ayde hym: theyr handes ready to defende hym, and theyr lyues as ready to dye for hym when soeuer he shall haue neede. A Prince that thus doth lyue and thus is loued at home may be enuyed with much prayse, and hated with smal hurte of any power abroad.

And therfore haue I heard wisemen discommend the gouernement in Fraunce in makyng theyr people almost slaues, and from thence a cõmon saying of some in England, that would haue the people neither witty nor wealthy when wit is the meare gift of GOD: So that to wish

Syr Iohn Gates wish.

men lesse wit that haue it, is to count God scarse wise that gaue it. And wealth of the people as Scripture sayth: is the glory of a Prince, and surety of hys raigne. But suspition in all gouerning breedeth such sayinges, when wrong doth beare such swynge, as ill conscience doth alwayes wish that men should lacke either wit to perceaue or habilitie to amende what soeuer is done amisse. But God send such Achitophels better ende then their counsels doth deserue which would sene wise by other mens folly, and would be rich by other mens pouertie.

To returne to the Uiceroy of Naples the common opinion of those in this Court which haue priuate cause to say wel on him do speake it boldly and openly, that he was such a one as neuer could content his couetousnes with money, nor neuer satisfie his crueltie with bloud: And so by this foule meane many gentlemē in Naples haue lost some theyr liues but moe theyr liuynges, and almost all theyr libertie. And there be at this day as men say here that know it a good sort of thousandes Neapolitanes, named Forien suti, who beyng spoyled at home by violence, robbe other abroad for neede, which comber so the passage betwixt Rome and Naples, as no man departeth commonly from Rome without company which commeth to Naples without robbyng.

The whole body of the kyngdome of Naples was so distempered inwardly with this misorder, with a litle outward occasion it would easely haue burst forth into a foule sore. A lesse mat-

ter

ter then the rauishyng of Lucrece, A meaner ayde then the helpe of Brutus, was thought sufficient to haue stirred vp this inward grudge to open reuenge. But see how God prouided for the Emperour and the quyet of that kingdome: For God in takyng away one Spanyard hath made Naples now more strong, then if the Emperour had set xx. thousand of the best in Spayne there: for euen this last Lent. 1553. Don Pietro di Toledo dyed at Florence by whose goyng away mens hartes in Naples be so come agayne to the Emperour, as he shall now haue lesse neede either to care for the fyne fetches of Fraunce, or to feare the great power of the Turke. A gentleman of this Court a true seruaunt to the Emperour sayd merely in a company where I was, that his master the Emperour had won more in Naples by the death of the Viceroy, then he had lost in Lorraigne by the forgyng of Metz.

But to my purpose not many yeares agoe diuers in Naples made their cõplaint to the Prince of Salerne of their griefes, who was thought would be most willyng for his good nature, and best able for his authoritie to seeke some remedie for them by way of intercessiõ to the Emperour.

The Prince beyng here at Bruxels humbly besought hys Maiestie to pitie the miserie of hys poore subiectes: who by this sute gat of the Emperour for hys cliantes, wordes without hope: and of the Viceroy for him selfe hatred without ende. The Prince yet alwayes bare hym selfe so wisely, that he could not without some sturre

be thrust downe openly: and ridyng on his iourney he was once shot with a dagge secretly.

Thus he seyng no ende of displeasure in the Viceroy no hope of remedy in the Emperour, when he saw the Turke on the Sea, the French kyng in the field, Duke Maurice and the Marches vp, and a good part of Italy either risen, or ready to rise, thinkyng the tyme come of theyr most hope for helpe by the Princes, and of least feare of punishment by the Emperour, came forth to play his part also amongest the rest: who whē flying first to the French kyng and after by hys counsell as it is sayd to the Turke, is compelled to venture vppon many hard fortunes. And what succes he shall haue either of helpe in Fraunce or comfort of the Turke, or mercy of the Emperour I can not yet write. But this last winter he hath lyen in the Ile of Clo, and now I heare say this sommer he is on the Sea with 63. Gallyes of the Turkes at his commaundement, what enterprice he will make, or what successe he shall haue when we shall heare of the matter, I trust I shal either by some priuate letter from hence or by present talke at home fully satisfie you therin.

¶ *Albert Marches of Bradenburge.*

Marches Albertes booke and the cōtents therof.

ALbert Marches of Bradenburge in the begynnyng of his sturre. 1552. wrote a booke and set it Print wherin he declared the causes of hys fallyng from the Emperour wittely alledgyng common misery as a iust pretence of hys priuate enterprise makyng other mens hurtes, his reme-

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dy to heale his own ſores and common wronges hys way to reuenge priuate diſpleaſures: ſhewyng liberty to be laſt, and Religion to be defaced, in all Germany, lamentyng the long captiuitie of the two great Princes: and all the diſpoſſeſſyng of hys father in law Duke Otto Henrick: ſore enueyng againſt the pride of the Spanyardes and the authoritie of ſtraungers, which had now in their handes the ſeale of the Impiere, and in theyr ſwynge the doyng of all thynges, and at their cõmaundement all ſuch mens voyces as were to be called the Imperiall Dietes: cõpellyng the Germanes in their owne countrey to vſe ſtraunge toungs for their priuate ſutes, wherin they could ſay nothyng at all, or nothyng to the purpoſe: vſing *Camera Imperialis* at Spires for a common key to open all mens coffers when they liſted and theſe were the chiefeſt points in Marches booke. Sore and iuſt complayntes.

The Marches alſo ſore enueyed againſt Luice de Auila for writyng, and againſt the Emperour for ſuffring ſuch a booke as Luice de Auila wrote: wherein the honor of Germany and the Princes therof & by name Marches Albert, who was in ỹ firſt warres on the Emperours ſide, was ſo defamed to all the world: yea the Marches was ſo throughly chafed with this boke, ỹ when I was in the Emperours court he offred ỹ combat with Luice de Auila, which the Emperour for good wil and wiſe reſpectes would in no caſe admit. The booke of Luice de Auila.

Not onely the Marches but alſo the Princes at the Diet of Paſſan this laſt yeare made a common complaint of this booke. I knew alſo the

good old Prince Fredericke Palsgraue of ỹ Rhene in September last when the Emperour lay at Landaw beside Spires, goyng with his great army to Metz, complayned to the Emperour hym selfe and to his counsell of a certaine spightfull place in that booke against him: The good prince told me this tale him selfe at hys house in Heldibirge whē I caried vnto him kyng Edwardes letters, the Lord Ambassadour him selfe beyng sicke at Spires.

The duke of Bauiere vnkyndly handled.

And wise men say that the Duke of Bauiere, also is euill contented for that which is written in that booke agaynst his father when he deserued of the Imperials, to haue bene rewarded rather with prayse and thankes then with any vnkynde note of blame and dishonour: of whom the Emperour in his warres agaynst the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxonie receiued such kindnes, as no Prince in Germany for all respectes in ỹ case was able to affourde hym: as first he had his whole countrey of Bauiere for a sure footyng place, to begyn the warre in: and had also both men and vittaile of hym what he would, and at lēgth should haue had that countrey his onely refuge, if that in warre he had come to any vnderdele as he was like enough to haue done. But it was Gods secret will and pleasure to haue the matter then go as it did: And for that cause men say Duke Albert of Bauiere that now is that hath maryed the Emperours niece, was moze straunge this last yeare to the Emperour, when he was driuen to that extremitie to flye away on the night from

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Inſpurge and was more familiar with duke Maurice, and more frendly to the Princes confederate then els peraduenture he would haue done.

And here a writer may learne, of Princes affaires a good leſſon to beware of parcialitie either in flattery, or ſpight: For although thereby a man may pleaſe his owne Prince preſently yet he may perchaunce as much hurt hym in the end as Luis de Auila dyd hurt ẏ Emperour his maſter in writyng of this booke. In deede this booke was not ẏ chiefeſt cauſe of this ſturre in Germany: but ſure I am that many Princes in Germany were fore agreeued w̄ it, as the Emperour wāted both theyr hartes & their handes whē he ſtode in moſt nede of frendes: Juſt reprehenſion of all vices as folie, vniuſt dealyng, cowardice, and vicious liuyng, muſt be frely and franckly vſed, yet ſo with that moderate diſcreſſion as no purpoſed malice or bēt hatred, may ſeeme to be the breeder of any falſe reproch which humor of writyng followeth ſo full, in Paulus Iouius bookes, and that by that iudgement of his owne frendes, as I haue heard wiſe and well learned men ſay: that his whole ſtudy and purpoſe is ſpent on theſe pointes, to deface the Emperour, to flatter Fraunce, to ſpite England, to belye Germany, to prayſe the Turke, to keepe vp the Pope, to pull downe Chriſt and Chriſtes Religion, as much as lyeth in him. But to my purpoſe agayne.

The matters before of me briefly rehearſed, were at large declared in Marches Albertes booke: yet that you may know what ſecret wor-

kyng went before this playne writyng and open doyng. And because the Marches part hath bene so notable in all this pastime, I will by more particular circumstaunces lead you to this generall complaintes.

There be at this day fiue Marchesses of Bradenburge: Ioachimus Electoz, Iohānes his brother who foz Ciuile seruice is Imperiall with might and mayne, & yet in Religion a Christian Prince with hart toung & honesty of lyfe: Doctour Christopher Monte, both a learned and wise man, our kynges Maiestie seruaunt and his Agent in the affaires of Germany hath told me diuers tymes, that this Marches Iohn and the Duke of Swaburg, be two of the worthiest Princes in all the Empier either in considering wisely, oz executing courageously any great affaire. The thyzd is Marches George who dwelleth in Franconia not farre from Noremberg. The fourth Marches Albert the elder the mighty Duke of Prusia hable foz his power to cope with any Prince, and xb. yeares together he dyd stoutly withstand in continuall warre the strength of the kyng of Pole. He hath so fully banished Papistry and so surely established the doctrine of the Gospell in Prusia, as no where hetherto in Germany is more diligently done, he loueth learnyng and honozeth learned men, and therfoze. an. 1544. he founded a new Uniuersitie in Prusia called Mons Regius bryngyng thether with plentyfull thynges excellent learned men in all tounges and sciences. He is vncle to this notable Marches Albert, and lac-

Duke of Prusia.

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kyng children hath made him his heyre, and hath already inuestured hym in the Dukedome of Prusia.

The fift is Marches Albert of whom I purpose to write on: whose father was Cassimirus descended from the kynges of Pole, and for his noblenes agaynst the Turke called *Achilles Germanicus*: and therfore might very well engender such a hoate Pirrhus. Marches Albert in hys young yeares as I haue heard wise men say, was rude in hys maners, nor did not shew any token of towardnes likely to attempt any such affaires as in deede he hath done. It might be either for the lacke of learnyng and good bringyng vp (a great and common fault in great Princes of Germany) or els for his bashfull nature in youth, which propertie Xenophon wittely fayned to be in Cyrus at like yeares iudgyng bashfulnes in youth to be a great token of vertue in age. Xenoph. κυρω.

Marches Albert is now at this day about xxxj. yeares old: of a good stature, neither very high, nor very low, thicke without grosenes: rather wel boned for strength, then ouerloded with flesh: his face fayre, bewtifull, rode, sterne, and manly: somewhat resemblyng my Lord Marches of Northt. when he was of the same yeares, his eyes great and rowlyng, makyng his countenance cherefull when he talketh: and yet whē he geueth eare to other he kepeth both a sadde looke without signe of suspicion, and also a well set eye without token of malice: And this behauiour I marked well in hym when I dyned in his com-

pany at the siege of Metz, in the County Iohn of Nassaus tent, his voyce is great and his wordes not many, more ready to here other then to talke him selfe. And when he talketh he so frameth hys toung to agree with hart, as speakyng and meanyng seemeth to be alwayes at one in hym, and herein he may be well called the sonne of Achilles whom Homer wittely doth fayne to haue such a free open nature: whose saying in Geeke is excellent, but beyng turned in the wrong side into English, it shall lesse delight you yet thus much it signifieth:

Who either in earnest or in sport,
doth frame hym selfe after such sort:
This thyng to thincke and that to tell,
my hart abhorreth as gate to hell.

Homer, meanyng hereby that a Prince of noble courage should haue his hart, his looke, hys toung, and his handes so alwayes agreeyng together in thinkyng, pretendyng, and speakyng, and doyng, as no one of these foure should at any tyme be at iarre with an other, which agreeyng together in their right tune, do make a pleasaunt melody in all mens eares both sweetest and loudest, called in English (honor) and most fitly in Greeke Τιμη, the price and prayse of vertue.

And though the Marches be free to say what he thinketh, yet he is both secret in purposyng & close in workyng what soeuer hee goeth about. Now very skillfull to do harme to others, and as ware to keepe hurte from hym selfe, yet first bet

vnto it with his own rod: for in ẏ former warres of Germany being on ẏ Emperours side he felt into the handes of Duke Iohn Fridericke of Saxony, which chaũce he is charged sore withall by Luice de Auila and that with so spight full and open a mouth, as moued the Marches to offer hym the combat as I sayd before. He is now most courageous in hardest aduentures, most cherefull in present ieoperdy, and most paynefull in greatest labours: hauyng no souldier vnder him, that can better away with heate and cold or longer suffer hunger and thrist then he him selfe. His apparell is souldier like, better knowen by his fearce doynges then by his gay goyng: His souldiours feare him for his stoutnes, and loue him for his liberalitie: which winneth to him authoritie fit for a stout Captaine, and worketh in them obediẽce due to good souldiours.

This last yeare a litle before hys agreement w̃ the Emperour hys souldiours for lacke of money & meate fell to mutenyng and then fell the Marches fastest to hangyng, not hidyng him selfe for feare, but cõming abroad with courage, did protest that neither the proudest should make misorder without punishmẽt nor yet the prodest should lacke as long as either he had peny in hys purse or loafe of bread in his tent. And after this sort of outward behauiour and inward condition in Marches Albert, as I haue marked his person my selfe and as I haue learned hys doynges by such as by experience knew them well & for theyr honestly would reporte them right and now how

he fell frō the Emperour I wil as briefly declare.

The Marches serued the Emperour as I said before in the former warres in Germany agaynst the Lansgraue and the Duke of Saxony, where he lost some honour and spent much money. The Emperour shortly after came downe hether to Bruxels hauyng the Marches in his company, who lookyng for a great recompēce of hys costes, and receiuyng litle, and seyng his honor not onely defaced in the field presently when he was taken prisoner, but also defamed for euer by writing cōfirmed by the Emperours priuiledge to grow abroad in the world began to take the matter so vnkindly, that he left comming to the Court, and kept his owne house: rising euery day very early: and writing all the forenoone very diligently yet what he did no man knew: so that his absence breed a talke in the Court, and his soddein and secret study wrought a wonderfull gelousy of his doynges in the Emperours head: for he knew the Marches to haue courage enough to attēpt matters ouer great: and therfore sent Mōsieur Grandvill: vnto the Marches house as of hym selfe to grope out his doynges, who declared vnto the Marches ỳ Emperours great goodwil towards hym, shewyng that his Maiestie was purposed to make him a great personage, & to begyn withall had in mynde to geue hym a goodly and profitable office in all his Wintes.

The Marches aunswered roundly and plainly to the first, that the Emperour could not make him greater then he was, beyng Marches of Bra-

den-

denburge: And as for ỳ office in the Minte, he said smiling, he vsed not oft to tell his owne money, & therefore he thought not to make the accõpt of others & so made nothing of the Emperours offer: onely hee desired Grandeuill that the Emperour would geue him leaue to go home to his owne, which he obtained: And at his departure ỳ Emperour gaue him a patent of 4000. crownes by ỳ yeare: But ỳ Marches was not well foure miles out of Bruxels, when he sent the patent by post to ỳ Emperour againe saying: his Maiestie might better bestow it on some that had more neede of it. And in deede the Marches is as loth to receiue of his frendes by beneuolence, as he is ready to take frõ hys enemies by violẽce which commeth somewhat of to stout a courage.

Thus the Marches came home not best contented as it may well appeare: nor saw not the Emperour after till he met hym at the siege of Metz. Casmirus his father and the Marches hym selfe were great spenders and deepe detters: the one for his stoutnes in warre, the other for his lustines in youth. And therefore became quicke borrowers & slow payers, which thyng brought the Marches into such trouble as hee had with the City of Noremberge with his neighbours the Bishop of Herbipolis and with his Godfather the Byshop of Pamberge.

The Marches was no sooner come home, but these Byshops spying their tyme, when he had left the Emperours Court, and had quite lost or much lessened his frendship there, begã to trouble

him with new suites for old debtes in *Camera Imperiali*, at Spires, where the Marches because hee lacked either fauour in the Court, or experience in young yeates, or good matter on his side, was alwayes wrong to the worst, and to stuffe vp his stomach with more matter of vnkindnes against the Emperour, it is sayd that letters from the greatest in the Emperours Court were neuer lacking at Spires to helpe forward processe against the Marches.

Shortly after this tyme begã the siege of Madenburg where Duke Maurice by the Emperour was appoynted generall. The Marches either weery of leesyng at home by sutes, or desirous to winne abroad by warre, or els purposing to practise some way to reuenge his displeasures made him ready to serue against Madenburg with 500. horse. And in the begynnyng of the spryng of the yeare. 1551. he set forward and in his way went to visite Ernestus his cosin Duke of Saxony brother to Iohn Fridericke thẽ prisoner with the Emperour. The selfe same time Lazarus Swendy was sent from the Emperour as Commissary to duke Ernestus with earnest commaundement that the Duke and all his, should receiue the doctrine of the Interim. And that I may accomplish my purpose, which is to paynt out as cruelly as I can, by writyng, the very Image of such persons as haue played any notable part in these affaires: and so you beyng absent shall with some more pleasure read their doynges. This Lazarus Swendy is a tall and a comely personage, and beyng

Lazarus Swendy.

brought

brought vp in learnyng vnder Oecolampadius at Basile makyng (as it was told me by an honest man that was throughly acquainted with hym there) more accompt of his tall stature, thē of any beawty of the mynde, began to be wery of learnyng, and became desirous to beare some braggе in the world: and so made a souldiour, marde a scholer, & because he would make a lusty chaunge from the feare of God and knowledge of Christs doctrine, he fell to be a peruerse and bloudy Papist: euer at hand in any cruell execution agaynst the poore Protestantes as commonly all such do which so wittingly shake of Christ, and his Gospell: such a Commissary you may be sure would cruelly enough execute his office.

Duke Ernestus told the Commissary that he his landes and lyfe were at his Maiesties commaundement, his Maiestie knew how quietly he bare him selfe alwayes, & therfore his trust was as he willingly serued the Emperour with true obedience: so he might as freely serue God with right conscience: for he would rather leaue hys landes and goodes and all to the Emperour, and go beg with his wife & children, then they would forsake the way of the Gospell which God hath commaunded them to follow.

And marke how euidently God dyd declare both how much such a Cōmission sent out abroad in Germany agaynst him and hys word dyd displease him: and also how much the prayers and sighyng hartes of iust men do in tyme preuayle with hym: for as a man of much honesty & great

knowledge in all the matters of Germany did tell me, assoone as this Commissiō was once abroad, the practises in Germany began to styre, yet not so openly as the Emperour might haue iust cause to withstand them, nor so couertly but he had occasion enough to mistrust them: and thereby he both lacked helpe for open remedy, and wanted no displeasure for inward grief.

Duke Ernestus, Marches Albert, and Lazarus Swendy sate at supper togethers: & as they were talkyng of ỳ Interim, the Marches soddenly brast out into a fury saying: what deuill! will ỳ Emperour neuer leaue striuyng with God in defacyng true Religiō and tossyng the world in debarryng all mēs liberties! addyng, that he was a Prince vnkynd to euery man, and kept touch with no mā, that could forget all mens merites, & would deceiue whom soeuer he promised.

The Duke liked not this hoate talke in hys house and at his table, but sayd: Cosin you speake but merely, and not as you thincke, adding much the prayse of the Emperours gentlenes shewed to many, and of his promise kept withall. Well (quoth the Marches) if he had bene either kynde where men haue deserued or would haue performed that hee promised: neither should I at this tyme accuse hym, nor you haue sit here in this place to defende hym, for he promised to geue me this house with all the landes that thereto belongeth: but ye be affrayd Cosin (quoth ỳ Marches) lest this talke be to loud, and so heard to farre of: when in deede if the Commissarie here, be so honest

nest a man as I take him, and so true to his master as he should be, he will not fayle to say what he hath heard, and on the same cõdition Commissary I bryng thee good lucke, and drancke of vnto hym a great glasse of wine. Lazarus Swendyes talke then sounded gẽtly and quietly, for he was sore affrayed of the Marches. But he was no soner at home with the Emperour, but word was sent straight to Duke Maurice that the Marches who was as thẽ come to Madenburg if he would needes serue there, should serue without wages.

We may be sure the Marches was chafed a new with this newes who already had lost a great sort of hys men and now must leese hys whole labour thether, and all his wages there, besides the losse of hys honour in takyng such shame of hys enemies, & receiuyng such vnkyndnes of the Emperour.

The Marches was not so greeued but Duke Maurice was as well contented with this commaundement: for euen then was Duke Maurice Secretary practisyng by Baron Hadeckes aduise with the French kyng for the sturre which dyd follow: and therfore was glad when he saw the Marches might be made hys so easely whiche came very soone to passe: so that the Marches for the same purpose in the ende of the same yeare went into Fraunce secretly, and was there with Shertly as a commõ Launce knight, and named hymselfe Captaine Paul, lest the Emperour spials should get out his doynges: where by the aduise of Shertly hee practised with the French kyng for

the warres which followed after. This matter was told vnto me by Iohn Mecardus one of the chief Preachers in Augusta, who beyng banished the Empiere, when and how ye shall heare after was fayne to flye, and was with Sherdly the same yeare in Fraunce.

The Marches came out of Fraunce in the begynnyng of the yeare. 1552. and out of hand gathered vp men, but his purpose was not knowne, yet the Emperour mistrusted the matter, beyng at Insburg, sent Doct. Hasius one of hys counsell, to know what cause he had to make such sturre. This Doct. Hasius was once an earnest protestāt, and wrote a booke on that side, & was one of the Palsgraues priuy counsell: But for hope to clime higher, he was very ready to be entised by ỳ Emperour to forsake first his master & then God: By whō the Emperour knew much of all ỳ Princes Protestants purposes, for he was commonly one whom they had vsed in all their Dietes and priuate practises: which thing caused the Emperour to seeke to haue hym: that by his head he might the easelyer ouerthrow the Protestantes, & with them God and hys word in all Germany.

This man is very lyke M. Parrie her graces cofferer in head, face, legges and bellye. What aūswere Hasius had I can not tell, but sure I am the Marches then both wrote his booke of complayntes agaynst the Emperour, and set it out in Printe. And also came forward with banner displayed, and tooke Dillyng vpon Danuby the Cardinall of Augustus towne, which Cardinall with

a few Priestes fled in post to the Emperour at Inspurg, where he found so cold cheare, and so litle comfort, that forthwith in all hast, he posted to Rome.

Horsemen and footemen in great companies still gathered to the Marches: and in the ende of March he marched forward to Augusta, where he, Duke Manrice, the young Lansgraue, the duke of Mechelburg, George, and Albert, with William Duke of Brunswycke, and other Princes confederate met together and besieged that Citie, where I will leaue the Marches till I haue brought Duke Maurice and hys doinges to the same time, and to the same place.

¶ *Duke Maurice.*

NOt many yeares agoe whole Saxony was chiefly vnder two Princes: the one duke Iohn Fredericke borne Elector, who yet liueth, defender of Luther, a noble setter out, and as true a follower of Christ and his Gospell: The other hys kynsman Duke George who is dead, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, a great mā of the Emperour, a mayntainer of Cocleus, and a notable piller of Papistry.

Iohn Fredericke Duke of Saxon.

Duke Iohn Fredericke is now 50. yeares of age, so byg of personage as a very strong horse is scarse able to beare hym: yet is he a great deale bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wisedome, iustice, liberalitie, stoutnes, temperancy in hym self, and humanitie towardes others, in all affaires, and either fortunes vsing a singular trouth and sted-

stedfastnes: so that Luice de Auila, and the Secretary of Ferrare who wrote the story of the first warres in Germany, and professe to be his ernest enemies both for matters of state and also of Religion, were so compelled by his worthynes to say the truth as though theyr onely purpose had bene to write his prayse. He was fiue yeares prisoner in this Court, where he wan such loue of all men, as the Spanyardes now say: they would as gladly fight to set hym vp agayne as euer they dyd to pull hym downe: For they see that he is wise in all his doynges, iust in all hys dealynges, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excellyng gentle to all, whom no aduersitie could euer moue, nor pollicy at any tyme entice to shrincke from God and his word. And here I must needes commend the Secretary of Ferrare, who beyng a Papist, and writyng the history of the late warres in Germany, doth not kepe backe a goodly testimony of Duke Frederickes constancy toward God and hys Religion.

When the Emperour had taken the Duke prisoner he came shortly after before the Citie of Witemberg: and beyng aduised by some bloudy counsellours that Duke Frederickes death should, by the terrour of it turne all the Protestantes from theyr Religion, caused a write to be made for the Duke to be executed the next mornyng vppon a solemne scaffold in the sight of his wife childzen, and the whole Citie of Wittemberg.

This write signed with the Emperours own hand was sent ouer night to the Duke, who whē

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the wryte came vnto hym was in hys tent playing at Chesse with his Cosin and fellow prisoner the Lansgraue of Lithenberg, and readyng it aduisedly ouer layd it downe quietly beside and made no countenance at all at ẏ matter, but sayd Cosin take good heede to your game, and returnyng to his play as quietly as though he had receiued some priuate letter of no great importance dyd geue the Lansgraue a trim mate.

The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moued by God: secondly of his great wisedome and naturall clemency, when he vnderstode his merueilous constancie chaunged his purpose and reuoked the wryte, and euer after gaue him more honour, and shewed him more humanitie then any Prince that euer I haue read of haue hetherto done to his prisoner.

He is also such a louer of learnyng as his Librarie furnished with bookes of all tounges and sciẽces, passeth all other Libraries which are yet gathered in Christendome: For my frend Ieronimus Wolfius who translated Demosthenes out of Greeke into Latine, who had sene the Frẽch kings Library at Augusta, hath told me that though in six monethes he was not able onely to wryte out the titles of the bookes in the Fuggers Library, yet was it not so byg as Duke Frederickes was which he saw in Saxony. I thinke he vnderstandeth no straunge toung saue somewhat the Latin and a litle the French: And yet it is merueilous that my frend Iohannes Sturmius doth report by writyng, what he heard Phillip Melancthon at a

tyme say of this noble Duke: that he thought the Duke did priuately read & write more euery day thē did both he and D. Aurifaber which two were counted in all mens iudgementes to be the greatest readers and writers in all the Universitie of Wittemberg.

And as hee doth thus read with such diligence, euen so he can report with such a memory what soeuer he doth read, and namely histories, as at his table on euery new occasion he is accustomed to recite some new story which hee doth with such pleasure and vtterance as men be content to leaue their meat to heare him talke: and yet hee hym selfe is not disdaynfull to heare the meanest nor will ouerwhart any mans reason. He talketh without tauntyng, and is mery without scoffyng, deludyng no man for sport, nor nippyng no man for spight.

Two kindes of men as his Preachers did tell me at Vilacho he will neuer lōg suffer to be in his house: the one a commō mocker, who for his pride thincketh so wel of his owne wit as his most delight is to make other mē fooles, and where God of his prouidence hath geuen small wit he for his sport wil make it none, and rather then he should leese his pleasure, he would an other should leese his wit: as I heare say was once done in England, and that by the sufferaunce of such as I am sorry for the good wil I beare them to heare such a report: the other a priuy whisperer a pickthācke a tale teller medling so with other mēs matters, as he findeth no leysure to looke to his owne: one

such

ſuch in a great houſe is able to turne and toſſe the quietnes of all. Such two kinde of men ſayth the Duke beſides the preſent troubling of others neuer or ſeldome come to good end them ſelues. He loueth not alſo bold and thicke ſkinned faces, wherein the meanyng of the hart doth neuer appeare. Nor ſuch hid talke as lyeth in wayte for other mens wittes. But would, ẏ wordes ſhould be ſo framed with the toung, as they be alwayes ment in the hart.

And therfore the Duke him ſelfe thincketh nothyng which he dare not ſpeake, nor ſpeaketh nothyng whiche hee will not do. Yet hauyng thoughtes grounded vppon wiſedome, his talke is alwayes ſo accompanied with diſcreſſion and his deedes ſo attende vppon true dealyng, as he neither biteth with wordes, nor wringeth with deedes, except impudency follow the fault, which Xenophon wittely calleth the fartheſt point in al doyng, and then he vſeth to ſpeake home as he did to a Spanyard this laſt yeare at Villacho, who beyng of the Dukes garde, when he was priſoner, and now preaſyng to ſit at his table when he was at libertie, Becauſe many nobles of ẏ Court came that day to dine with the duke, The gentleman Huſher gently deſired the Spanyard to ſpare his rowme for that day for a great perſonage: But hee countenancyng a braue Spaniſh bragge, ſayd, Seignor ye know me well enough, and ſo ſat him downe. A noble nature.

The Duke heard him, and preuentyng hys mans aunſwere ſayd: In deede you be to well

knowen, by the same token the last tyme you were here you tooke a gobblet away with you, & therfore when you haue dyned you may go without farewell, and haue leaue to come agayne when ye be sent for. In the meane while an honest man may occupy your place. But in remembryng so good a Prince I haue gone to farre from my matter: And yet the remembraunce of him is neuer out of place, whose worthynes is neuer to be forgotten.

Duke George of Saxony a litle before he dyed hauyng no child did dishinherite Duke Henry his brother by his last wil because he was a Protestant, and gaue away his whole inheritaunce to Ferdinando kyng of Romaines.

But Duke Iohn Fredericke by force of armes set and kept his Cosin Duke Henry in his right: And he dying soone after left behynd hym two sonnes Duke Maurice and Duke Augustus, who likewise in their youth were defended in theyr right by the wisedome and force of Duke Iohn Fredericke. Duke Maurice was brought vp in Duke Iohn Frederickes house as if hee had bene hys owne sonne and maryed the Lansgraues daughter.

After it came to passe that the Emperour attempted to establish Papistry in Germany with the sword, agaynst which purpose the Lansgraue and duke Iohn Fredericke armed them selues not to resist the Emperour as the Papistes say, but to kepe Gods Religion vp, if any by violence would pull it downe, refusing neuer, but requiryng al-

wayes

wayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free generall Councell where truth in Religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of euen and *equall iudges and that by the touchstone of Gods Canonicall Scriptures.

*Εν' ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις, wordes alwayes vsed in Thucidides in decidyng cõmon controuersies.

Duke Maurice in the begynnyng of his warre was suspected neither of the Lansgraue nor of Duke Fredericke beyng sonne in law to the one and nighe kinsman to the other and agreeyng in Religiõ with both. Yea he was not onely not suspected. But as I heard skilful mẽ say he was ready with his counsell & promised his ayde to helpe forward ẏ enterprice, or els Hance Fredericke beyng a Prince of such wisedome, would not haue left at home behind hym an enemy ofsuch a force.

Franciſco Duke Maurice Agent with the Emperour was asked, I beyng by at Augusta, how he could excuse his masters vnkindnes towards Iohn Fredericke who had bene such a father vnto him. He graunted that Duke Fredericke had bene great frend vnto him, and might haue a greater if he had would, and thẽ lesse strife had followed then did. And troth it is (sayd he) as Duke Fredericke kept my master in his right, so afterward he put him from part of his right, when in his yong yeares hee chopped and chaunged landes with him when he listed: which thing my master comming to mans state much misliked, and oft complaynyng could neuer obtayne remedy therein. Kyndnes should rather haue kyndly encreased, so vnkyndly haue decayed specially when the one was trusted withall, and the other of

such yeares, as he had neither wit to perceiue nor power to amend if any iniurie were offred vnto hym. Troth also it is that my master was brought vp in Duke Frederickes house: but he hath more cause to cõplaine on them that brought him thether, then to thanke such as brought him vp there, where he had alwayes plentie of drinke and as much scant of good teachyng to come to such vertue and learnyng as dyd belong to a Prince of his state.

Now whether this talke was altogether true, or, an ill excuse was made to couer a foule fact I can not tell: but sure I am Francisco sayd thus. I haue heard wise men say that it is not lyke, that for such a priuate strife Duke Maurice would haue so forsaken not onely his frend and kinsman, but also his father in law or would for the losse a litle, or rather for the chaũge of a peece haue so hassarded his whole estate, which was once in the first warre all gone saue Lypsia, and one other towne, beside the losse of loue in whole Germany and his good name amongest all Protestantes, in the middest of whom all hys liuinges do lye.

Why Duke Maurice left hys dearest frendes and fell in with the Emperour.

Well surely there was some great cause that could sturre vp so great a strife, and that was as wise men and wel willyng on Duke Maurice side in myne opinion haue truly iudged, the foule vice of ambition.

Ambition.

O Lord how many worthy men hath this one vice beareft from good common weales, which for all other respectes were most vnwor-

thy

thy of that end they came vnto. My hart weepes for those noble men of England, whose valiantnes in warre, whose wisedome in peace this Realme shal want and wayle and wish and wish for in tyme to come, which of late by this onely vice haue bene taken from vs. Examples, lesse for our grief and as fit for this purpose be plenty enough in other states.

Ouer many experiences do teach vs, though a Prince be wise stout liberall gentle mercyfull and excellently learned, though he deserue all the prayse, that vertue nature and fortune cã affourd him, yea that wit it selfe can wish for as we read that noble Iulius Cæsar had, and that by the testimony of those that loued him not, neuertheles if those two foule verses of Euripides.

Do right alway and wrong refraine.
Except onely for rule and raigne.

If these verses I say do not onely sound well in his eare, but sincke deepe also in his hart, surely there is neither kindred, frendship, law, othe, obedience, countrey, God, nor his owne life, but he will hassard to leese all rather then to pursue this foule vice: For Polynices, for whom this verse was first made in Greeke, did fill not onely his owne countrey full of dead carcasses, but also whole Greece full of weepyng widdowes. And Cæsar for whom the same verse was turned into Latin did not onely turne vpside down the goodliest common wealth that euer GOD suffred to stand vpon the earth: but also tossed the whole

woꝛld with battayle and slaughter euen almost from the sunne setting vnto the sunne rising. And did not stop to bꝛyng souldiours to do mischief further then any man now dare iourney by land either foꝛ pleasure oꝛ pꝛofite.

But see the fruite and end which this vngodly great growing bꝛingeth men vnto: Both these Pꝛinces were slaine the one by his bꝛother the other by his owne sonne, of whom in life, nature & benefites would they should haue taken most cõfoꝛt of. But men that loue to clime to hye haue alwayes least feare, and therefoꝛe by reason fall most soddenly and also fardest downe: yea the very bowghes that helped hym vp will now whip him in fallyng downe: Foꝛ who so in climyng trusteth when he is goyng vp any bough at all ouer much, though hee seeme to tread neuer so surely vppon it yet if he once begyn to slyp the same selfe bough is reddiest to beat him that seemed befoꝛe surest to beare him. Examples hereof be seen dayly and foꝛgotten hereby.

An other mischief chaunceth commonly to these high climers: that they will heare no man so gladly as such which are euer hartenyng them to clime still. If wise and good men durst speake moꝛe freely then they do: great men should do both others and them selues lesse harme thẽ they are wont to do. He hateth him selfe and hasteth his owne hurt that is content to heare none so gladly as either a foole oꝛ a flatterer. A wonderfull follie in a great man him selfe and some peace of miserie in a whole common wealth, where fooles

fooles chiefly, and flatterers may speake freely what they will and wise men and good men shal commonly be shent, if they speake what they should.

And how commeth this to passe? it is the very plague of God for great mens sinnes, and the plaine high way to their iust punishment. And when God suffreth them so willingly to graunt freedome to follie and so gladly to geue hearyng to flattery: But see when the great man is gone and hath playd his part, fooles and flatterers be still vpon the stage. Such liue in all worldes, such laugh in all miseries: such Daui and Getæ, haue alwayes the longest partes: and go out who shal they tary in place still. I know also many a good mitio, which haue played long partes whom I pray God kepe long still vpon the stage. And I trust no man will be miscontent with my generall saying except conscience do pricke him of his owne priuate ill doyng.

There be common wealthes where freedome in speakyng truth hath kept great mē from boldnes in doyng ill: for free and frendly aduise is the trimmest glasse that any great man can vse to spye his owne fault in: which taken away they runne commonly so farre in foule doyng, as some neuer stay till they passe all remedy saue onely to late repentaunce. And as I would haue no flattery but with for freedome: So in no wise do I commend ouermuch boldnes, or any kind of rayling. But that libertie in speakyng should be so mingled with good will and discretion, as no

great person should be vnhonorably spoken vpō, or any meane man touched out of order either for sport or spite: as some vnquiet heades neuer contented with any state are euer procuryng either secretly with raylyng billes, or openly with tauntyng songes, or els some scoffing common play.

In other kynd of to bold talkers surpasse all these selly rumors, who are called, and so will be, commō discoursers of all Princes affaires. These make a great accompt of them selues and will be commonly foremost in any preasse, and lustily without blushing shoulder backe others: These will seeme to see further needes, in any secret affayre then the best and wisest coūsellor a Prince hath. These be the open flatterers and priuy mislikers of all good counsellors doynges. And one common note, the most part of this brotherhode of discoursers commōly carry with them where they be bold to speake: to like better Tullies Offices, then S. Paules Epistles: and a tale in Bocace, then a story of the Bible.

And therfore for any Religion earnest letters forth of present tyme: with consciences confirmed with Machiauelles doctrine to thincke say and do what soeuer may serue best for profite or pleasure. But as concernyng flatterers and raylers to say mine opinion whether I like worse, surely as I haue read few men to haue bene hurt with bitter poysons: so haue I heard of as few great men to haue bene greatly harmed with sharpe talke: but are so ware therin, that commonly they wil complaine of their hurt before they feele harme. And

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flattery agayne is ſo ſweete, that it pleaſeth beſt, when it hurteth moſt, and therfore is alwayes to be feared: becauſe it alwayes delighteth, but in lookyng aſide to theſe hye climers, I haue gone out of the way, of mine owne matter.

To returne to Duke Maurice, he ſaw that Duke Frederickes fallyng might be his riſing, and perchaunce was moued with ſome old iniuries, but beyng of young yeares and of nature full of deſire and courage he was a trimme pray for old practiſes to be eaſely caryed away with fayre new promiſes ſounding altogether to honor and profite, and ſo he forſoke his father and his frend, and became wholy the Emperours till hee had brought both them into priſon. Duke Fredericke was taken in the field and ſo became the Emperours iuſt priſoner. Yet as long as the Lanſgraue was abroad, the Emperour thought his purpoſe neuer atchieued, and therefore practiſed a new with duke Maurice to get him alſo into his hãds.

Duke Maurice with Ioachim Electer of Bradenburge became meanes betwixt the Lanſgraue and the Emperour. Conditions both of mercy from the one, and of amendes from the other were drawen out. Maurice and the Marches bound them ſelues ſureties to the Lãſgraues children, for their fathers ſafe returne: for amongeſt the reſt of cõditions this was one of the chiefeſt, that he ſhould come in no priſon. And ſo at Hala in Saxony, he came boldly to the Emperours preſence, who receiued him not very cherefully, nor gaue him not his hand which in Germany is the

very token of an assured reconsiliation.

The Duke of Alua made the Lansgraue a supper, and called also thether Duke Maurice, and the Marches of Bradēburg where they had great chere: but after supper it was told Duke Maurice and the Marches, that they might depart for the Lansgraue must lodge there that night.

On the morrow, they reasoned of the matter wholly to this purpose that the Emperours promises not the Lansgraues person ought to be kept. Aunswere was made that the Emperour went no further then conditions led him which were that he should not be kept in euerlastyng prison: and they agayne replyed he ought to be kept in no prison. When I was at Villacho in Carinthia I asked Duke Frederickes Preacher what were the very wordes in Dutch, wherby the Lansgraue agaynst his lookyng was kept in prison. He sayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable and tooke his penne and wrote in my booke the very wordes wherin the very controuersie stode, duke Maurice sayd it was.

Nicht in emig gefengknes. i. Not in any prison.

The Imperials sayd no, but thus.

Nicht in ewig gefengknes. i. Not in euerlastyng prison. And how soone *emig*, may be turned into *ewig*, not with scrape of knife, but with the least dash of a pen so that it shall neuer be perceiued, a man that will proue, may easely see.

Moreouer Luice d'Auila in his booke doth reioyce that the Lansgraue did so deceaue hym selfe with his owne conditions in makyng of which

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as d'Auila saith, he was wont to esteeme his owne wit aboue all other mens. Well, how so euer it came to passe the Lansgraue was kept in prison. And from that houre Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour thinckyng hym selfe most vnkyndly hādled, that he by whose meanes chiefly the Emperour had won such honor in Saxony, must now be rewarded with shame in all Germany, and be called a traytor to GOD, and hys countrey, his father, and his frend. And though he was greeued inwardly at the hart, yet he bare all thynges quietly in coūtenance purposing though he had lost will yet would he not leese his profite, and so hiding his hurt presently, whilest some fitter time should discouer some better remedy, he went with the Emperour to Augusta, where accordyng to hys promise he was made Elector. Yet the same night after hys solemne creation, two verses set vppon his gate might more greue him, then all that honour could delight hym, which were these.

Seu Dux, seu Princeps, seu nunc dicaris Elector.
Mauricij Patriæ proditor ipse tui.

After that he had gotten that he looked for, he gat him home into his countrey: from whence afterward the Emperour with no pollicie could euer bryng hym, he alwayes alledgyng, the feare that he had of some sturre by Duke Frederickes children.

Hetherto the Germaines much misliked the doynges of Duke Maurice. But after that he had

felt him selfe so vnkyndly abused as for his good seruice to be made the betrayer of his father, he tooke such matters in hand & brought them so to passe, as he recouered the loue of his countrey and purchased such hate of his enemyes, as the Spanyardes tooke their displeasure from all other, and bestowed wholly vppon the Duke Maurice: and yet he bare him selfe with such wit, and courage agaynst them, as they had alwayes cause to feare hym and neuer occasion to contemne hym: Yea if he had liued he would sooner men thinke haue driuen all Spanyardes out of Germany, then they should haue hurt hym in Saxony, for he had ioyned vnto him such strength, and there was in him such pollicie, as they durst neuer haue come vppon him with power, nor neuer should haue gone beyond hym with wit. He had so displeased the Emperour as he knew wel neither his lādes: nor his life could make amendes whē x. poundes of Benefites which he was able to do, could not way with one ounce of displeasure that he had already done: and therefore neuer after sought to seeke his loue which he knew could neuer be gotten: but gaue him selfe wholy to set vp Maximiliā, who beyng him selfe of great power, and of all other most beloued for his worthynes in all Germany, and now vsing the head and hand of duke Maurice and his frendes, and hauyng the helpe of as many as hated the Spanyardes, that is to say almost all Protestantes and Papistes in Germany, he should easely haue obtained what soeuer he had gone about. But that bonde is now bro-

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ken: for euen this day when I was writyng this place, came word to this Court, that Marches Albert, and Duke Maurice had fought, where the Marches had lost the field, and Duke Maurice had lost his life: which whole battaile because it is notable, I would here at length describe; but that I should wander to farre from my purposed matter; and therfore I in an other place, or els some other with better opportunitie shall at large report the matter.

We see the cause why and the time whē Duke Maurice fell from the Emperour. And because he was so notable a Prince, I will describe also the maner how he proceded in all these doyngs, as I learned amongest them that did not greatly loue him. And because it were small gayne to flatter him that is gone, and great shame to lye vppon him that is dead, for pleasyng any that be alyue, I so will report on hym as his doynges since my commyng to this Court haue deserued.

He was now of the age of xxxij. yeares well faced in countenance complection fauour and beard not much vnlike to Syr Raffe Sadler but some deale higher, and well and strong made to beare any labour and payne. He was once (men say) geuen to drinckyng, but now he had cleane left it, contented with small diet and litle sleepe in this last yeares, and therfore had a wakyng and watchyng head: and became so witty and secret, so hardy and wake, so skilfull of wayes, both to do harme to others, and keepe hurt from himself: as he neuer tooke enterprise in hand

wherein he put not his aduersary alwayes to the worse. And to let other matter of Germany passe, euen this last yeare within the compasse of eight monethes he professed him selfe open enemy against foure the greatest powers that I know vpon earth. The Turke, the Pope, the Emperour, & the French king, & obtained his purpose and wan prayse agaynst thē all foure: for he in person and pollicie & courage dispatched the Turkes purpose and power this last yeare in Hungary.

The Turke.

The Pope

The Councell at Trent which the Pope & the Emperour went so about to establish he onely brought to none effect: first by open protestatiō against that Councell, and after by his commyng with his army to Insburge, he brought such feare to the Bishops there gathered, that they ran euery one farre away frō thence; with such speed as they neuer durst hetherto speake of meeting there agayne. And how he delt with ỳ Emperour, both in forcyng him to flye from Insburge, and compelling him to such a peace at Passo, my whole *Diarium* shall at full instruct you.

The Emperour.

French kyng.

And of all other he serued the French kyng best, who fayre pretendyng the deliuery of the ij. Princes captiues, and the maintenaunce of Religion & libertie in Germany, purposed in very deede nothyng els, but ỳ destruction of the Emperor, & the house of Austria: for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth none him selfe priuately in his life, but also persecuteth the trouth in others openly with the sword. But I do him wrong to say he followeth none, who

could

could for his purpose be cõtent at one time to embrace all: & for to do hurt enough to the Emperor would become at once by solemne league, Protestãt, Papish, Turkish, & deuillish. But such Princes that cary nothyng els but the name of bearing vp Gods word, deserue the same prayse and the same end that that Prince dyd, who semed so ready to beare vp ỹ Arke of the Lord, & yet otherwise pursued Gods true Prophetes & his word.

Agayne how much the French kyng cared for the libertie of Germany he well declared in stealyng away so vnhonorably from the Empire the Citie of Metz. But he thinckyng to abuse Duke Maurice for his ambitious purpose, in very deede & in the end Duke Maurice vsed him as he should: for first he made him pay well for ỹ whole warres in Germany as it is sayd. 200000. crownes a moneth: And after when the French kyng fell to catchyng of Cities, duke Maurice tendryng ỹ state of his countrey brake of with hym, and began to parle w̃ the good kyng of Romanes at Luiz, which thyng whẽ the Frẽch kyng heard came within if. miles of the Rhene, he straight way hyed more hastly & with more disorder, for all his great hast, out of Germany, as they say that were there, then the Emperour being sicke without company and pressed by his enemy dyd go from Insburg.

And see how nobly Duke Maurice did which for ỹ loue of his coũtrey, durst fall from the Frẽch kyng before he atchieued any thyng agaynst the Emperour. And rather thẽ Germany should leese her Cities so by the French king, he had leuer hasard,

sard, both the leesing of his enterprice, & also the leauyng of hys father in law still in prison with the Emperour. But as he had wit to take money plēty of the French kyng: so had he wit also to furnish him selfe so frō home as he durst first fall out with the French kyng, & durst also after to set vpō the Emperour till he had brought his honest purpose to passe. For there is not almost any in this Court but they will say duke Maurice did honestly in deliuering his father by strong hand, which before left no fayre meane vnproued to do that humbly by entreaty, which after, was cōpelled to bryng to passe stoutly by force. And I pray you first marke well what he did and then iudge truly if any thing was done that he ought not to do.

For first he him selfe with ẏ Marches of Bradenburge most humbly by priuate sute laboured for the Lansgraues deliuery offring to the Emperour, princely offers, and not to be refused: as a huge summe of money: a fayre quantitie of great ordinaunce, certaine holdes of his, some to be defaced, some geuē to ẏ Emperour: and also personall pledges of great houses for hys good haberaunce all the residue of his life.

Duke Maurice offer for the Lāsgraues deliuery.

After whē this sute was not regarded they againe procured all ẏ Princes & states of Germany beyng at ẏ Diet at Augusta. an. 1548. to be hūble intercessors for him, offring ẏ selfe same cōditions rehearsed before addyng this more to become sureties them selues in any bande to his Maiestie for his due obedience for tyme to come.

Thirdly by the Prince of Spayne Duke Maurice

rice neuer left to entreat ẏ Emperour, yea he was so carefull of ẏ matter, that his Ambassadors followed the Prince euen to his shipping at Genoa: who had spokē oftē presently before, & wrote earnestly frō thence to his father for ẏ Lansgraues deliuery, & it would not be. And wise mē may say it was not ẏ wisest deede that euer ẏ Emperor did, to deny ẏ prince this sute: for if ẏ Prince had bene made ẏ deliuerer of ẏ ij. princes out of captiuity, he had won therby such fauor in all Germany, as wout all doubt he had bene made coadiutor w̄ the k. of Romaines his vncle, And afterward ẏ Emperor. which thing was lustly denyed to ẏ Emperor by the Electors, though he laboured in ẏ matter so sore as he neuer dyd in any other before.

Fourthly this last yeare a litle before the open warres duke Maurice procured once agayne, not onely all ẏ Princes and free Estates of Germany, but also the kyng of Romaines Ferdinand, Maximilian his sonne king of Boeme, the kyng of Pole, the kyng of Dēmarke the king of Sweden, to send also their Ambassadors for this suite, so that at once xxiiij. Ambassadours came before the Emperour together at Insburge. To whom whē the Emperour had geuen very fayre wordes in effect cōcernyng a double meanyng aunswere, & that was this: That it did him good to see so noble an Ambassage at once. And therfore so many Princes should well vnderstand ẏ he would make a good accompt of their sute. Neuertheles because duke Maurice was the chiefest partie herein he would with speede send for him, and vse his head for the

better endyng of this matter. But Duke Maurice seyng that all these Ambassadors wēt home with out him, and that the matter was referred to his present talke who was neuer heard in the matter before, he wisely met with this double meaning aunswere of the Emperours with a double meanyng *replica* agayne: for he promised the Emperour to come, and at last in deede came so hastly and so hotely as the Emperour could not abide the heat of his breath: For when duke Maurice saw that all humble sutes, all quiet meanes were spent in vayne, & had to beare him iust witnes therin all ẏ Princes of Germany: First with close pollicie, after open power both wittely and stoutly, he atchieued more by force then he required by suite: For the Emperour was glad to condiscend (which surely in an extreme aduersitie was done like a wise Prince) without money, without artillery, without defacyng of holdes, wout receiuyng of pledges, to send the Lansgraue home, honorably accōpanied with (at the Emperors charges) the nobilitie of Brabant & Flaunders.

This last day I dined with the Ambassadour of Venice in cōpany of many wise heades, where duke Maurice was greatly praysed of some for his wit: of other for ẏ execution of his purposes. Well sayth a lusty Italian Priest, I can not much prayse his wit, which might haue had the Emperour in his handes & would not. Loe such be these Machiauels heades, who thincke no mā to haue so much wit as he should, except he do more mischief then he neede. But Duke Maurice purposing to do no

harme

harme to the Emperour, but good to his father in law, obtainyng ẏ one purſued not the other. Yea I know it to be moſt true whē we fled from Inſburg ſo haſtly, Duke Maurice ſent a poſt to ẏ good kyng of Romanes, & bad him will the Emperor to make no ſuch ſpeede for he purpoſed not to hurt his perſon: but to helpe his frend, whereupon the Diet at Paſſo immediatly folowed.

I cōmend rather the iudgement of Iohn Baptiſt Gaſcaldo, the Emperours man and ẏ kyng of Romanes generall in Hungary, who is not wont to ſay better, or loue any mā more then he ſhould ſpecially Germaines, & namely Proteſtantes. And yet this laſt winter he wrote to the Emperour that he had marked Duke Maurice well in all his doynges agaynſt the Turke, and of all men that euer he had ſene, he had a head to forecaſt the beſt with pollicie and wit, and a hart to ſet vppon it with courage and ſpeed, & alſo a diſcreſſiō to ſtay moſt wiſely vpon the very pricke of aduauntage. Iohn Baptiſt Gaſcaldo.

Marches Marignan told ſome in this Court foure yeares ago that Duke Maurice ſhould become the greateſt enemy to the Emperour that euer the Emperour had: which thing he iudged (I beleue) not of any troubleſome nature which he ſaw in Duke Maurice, but of the great wronges that were done to Duke Maurice, knowyng that he had both wit to perceiue them quietly and alſo a courage not to beare them ouer long.

Some other in this court that loued not duke Maurice, & hauyng no hurt to do him by power, went about to ſay him ſome for ſpight & therfore

wrote these two spightfull verses agaynst him.

Iugurtham Mauricus prodit Mauricius vltra,
Henricum, Patruum, Socerum, cum Cæsare, Gallum.

He that gaue me this verse added thereunto this his iudgement, well (sayth he) he that could finde in his hart to betray his frend Duke Henry of Brunswicke, his nigh kinsman Duke Fredericke, his father in law the Lansgraue, his soueraigne Lord the Emperour, his confederate the French kyng, breakyng all bondes of frendshyp, nature, law, obediẽce, and othe, shall besides all these, deceaue all men if at length he do not deceaue hym selfe. This verse and this sentence, the one made of spight, the other spoken of displeasure be here commended as men be affectioned. For any part as I can not accuse him for all: so will I not excuse him for part. And yet since I came to this Court I should do him wrong if I did not cõfesse that which as wise heades as be in this Court haue iudged on him, euen those that for countrey & Religion were not his frendes, that is, to haue shewed him selfe in all these affayres betwixt the Emperour and him: first, humble in intreatyng, diligent in pursuyng, witty in purposing, secret in worckyng, fearce to foresee by open warre, ready to parle for common peace, wise in choyse of conditions, and iust in performyng of couenaunts.

Duke Maurice.

And I know he offended the Emperour beyond all remedy of amẽdes: So would I be loth to see as I haue once sene, his Maiestie fall so agayne into any enemyes handes: lesse peraduen-

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ture lesse gentlenes would be found in him then was found in Duke Maurice, who when he was most able to hurt, was most ready to hold hys hād and that agaynst such an enemy, as he knew well would neuer loue him, and should alwayes be of most power to reuenge. If Duke Maurice had had a Machiauels head or a cowardes hart, he would haue worne a bloudyer sword thē he did, which he neuer drew out in all these sturres, but once at ẏ Cluce & ẏ was to saue ẏ Emperors mē.

Hetherto I haue followed the order of persons which hath caused me somewhat to misorder both tyme & matter, yet where diuers great affaires come together, a man shall write confusedly for the matter, & vnpleasantly for ẏ reader, if he vse not such an apt kinde of partitiō as ẏ matter will best affourde, which thyng (Plato sayth) who cā not do, knoweth not how to write. Herein Herodotus deserueth in myne opinion a great deale more prayse then Thucidides, although he wrote of a matter more confused for places, time, and persons, then the other did.

In this point also Appianus Alexandrinus is very commendable, and not by chaunce but by skil doth follow this order, declaryng in his Prologue iust causes why he should do so. Our writers in later tyme, both in Latin & other tounges commonly confound to many matters together, and so write well of no one. But see master Astley I thincking to be in some present talke with you, after our old wont do seeme to forget both my selfe and my purpose.

For the rest that is behind I will vse a grose & homely kind of talke with you: for I will now as it were cary you, out of England with me, & will lead you the same way that I went euen to the Emperours Court beyng at Augusta. an. 1550. And I will let you see in what case it stode, and what thyngs were in doyng when we came first thether. After I wil cary you and that a pace, because the chiefest matters be throughly touched in this my former booke, through the greatest affaires of ij. yeares in this Court. Yet in order till we haue brought Duke Maurice (as I promised you) to ioyne with Marches Albert in besiegyng Augusta. And thē because priuy practises brast out into open sturres I might better marke thynges dayly then I could before. And so we will depart with the Emperour from Insburg, and see dayly what chaunces were wrought by feare and hope in this Court till hys Maiestie left the siege of Metz, and came downe hether to Bruxels: where then all things were shut vp into secret practises till lastly of all, they brake forth into new mischiefes, betwixt the Emperour and Fraunce in Picardy, & also betwixt Duke Maurice, and the Marches in hyghe Germany which thynges I trust some other shall marke and describe a great deale better then I am hable to doe.

¶ FINIS.